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26 August 1965

#### MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

FRANCE: CM 65-4, National Minorities in Eastern Europe

STATINTL

(0/DD/I) called to ask whether the Geographic

Memorandum on Mational Minorities in Mastern Europe had been
thoroughly reviewed and not likely to contain any anomalies.

Be thought that Mr. Cline would personally want to send copies
to the White House and the top and middle levels of the Department
of State. I assured him that it had been so reviewed.

STATINTL

Special Assistant
Birector of Basic Intelligence

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Memorandum

PSD/Dissemination

DATE:

30 July 1965

Attn:

STATINTL

St/P/C/RR

SUBJECT:

Dissemination of CIA/RR GM 65-4, National

Minorities in Eastern Europe (For Official Use Only)

STATINTL

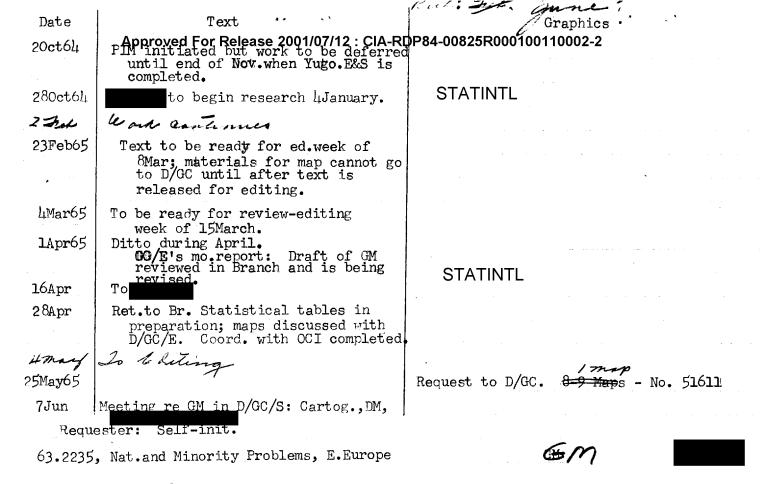
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STATINTL called re schedule. However, at meeting last Friday (DM, found that much juggling of sources and dates must be done before maps (1) and tables (10 or 11)

can be done. Map not yet started in D/GC.

STATINTL

Text (except tables) has been edited as much as possible. to confer with re tables.

STATINTL

STATINTL

3Jun65 went over text yesterday. There are DM and 3 places where DM thinks gaps exist and STATINTL has three paragraphs to write. She expects it back in her office today.

This GM may be printed. Quite some reduction in printing is necessary -- therefore will try typeset. Probably now published in June. Good idea to have meeting but not until first of week because of status of editing.

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NATIONAL MINORITIES IN EASTERN EUROPE

PRELIMINARY DRAFT

D/GG/RR Room 3 E 52

63.2235

CIA/RR GM 65-4 June 1965

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

#### Introduction

The Soviet hegemony imposed over Eastern Europe after World War II obscured many deep-rooted antagonisms that have long existed among the numerous nationality groups living in this region. The gradual weakening of Soviet control over Eastern Europe and the willingness of the Communist regimes to evolve policies serving national interests rather than bloc interests, however, have allowed some of these old hatreds and unreconciled differences to come to the surface again, thereby introducing another divisive element in both the internal and external affairs of countries in this area.

Perhaps the most explosive nationality issues in Eastern Europe at present stem from national minorities — distinct ethnic groups living in states that are dominated politically and numerically by people of another nationality. In most of the seven countries discussed in this memorandum the size and relative importance of such groups were greatly reduced as a result of territorial changes and population movements during and immediately after World War II, but many minorities are still large enough and sufficiently concentrated to create problems. The most significant of these minorities are formed by the Hungarians in the Transylvanian section of Rumania and the Albanians in the Kosmet region of Yugoslavia. Although not within the scope of this study, the existence of a large group of Rumanians in the Bessarabian region of the USSR further complicates the problem of minorities in Eastern Europe. In addition,

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the historic conflict between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia over Macedonia continues to be a sensitive issue, and other disputes could arise over the large Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and the Turkish minority in Bulgaria.

Nationality problems of another sort arise within the multinational states of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. A source of internal weakness in these states is the conflict between the dominant nationality and the other smaller and weaker group or groups. In Czechoslovakia this conflict revolves around the traditional rivalry between the dominant Czechs and the smaller and less advanced Slovak group. In Yugoslavia the strong Serbian group historically has been opposed by the Croats and, to a lesser extent, by other Yugoslav nationalities.

Although much has been written and published on the subject of nationalities in Eastern Europe, it is still virtually impossible to obtain data that are both accurate and comparable for the countries included in this survey. Country censuses are not taken on comparable bases. They vary not only in terms of dates but also in terms of completeness and in the criteria used to identify constituent nationality groups. In addition to these limitations, census data are sometimes deliberately falsified and distorted. For the most part, there is a tendency for countries to understate the actual size of their minority populations. In some instances, censuses ignore completely the existence of a particular nationality or else disguise its true size by recording its members among several more or less artificially distinct categories. This has made generalizations and "best guesses" unavoidable in the following discussion.

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Table 1

## Estimated Size of National Minority Population in Eastern Europe, by Country

	Prewar		Postwar	
	Thousand	Percent of Country Total	Thousand	Percent of Country Total
Poland Czechoslovakia Hungary Rumania Bulgaria Yugoslavia Albania	10,295 5,060 1,120 5,075 805 2,070	32.3 34.4 12.9 28.1 13.2 17.1 8.2	1,450 a/ 1,010 b/ 440-740 2,493 1,107 c/ 2,010 80	4.8 7.4 4.4-7.4 14.3 14.5 10.8 4.8
Total	24,500	26.0 <u>a</u> /	8,590-8,890	8.7-9.0 <u>a</u> /

a. Includes Autochthons.

Table 2 Estimated Size of Major Minority Groups in Eastern Europe a/

APPROPRIATE STATE OF THE STATE		
	Prewar Thousand	Postwar Thousand
Germans Ukrainians Jews Hungarians Byelorussians Turks/Tatars Great Russians Albanians Gypsies Bulgarians Czechs/Slovaks	5,790 5,630 4,740 2,610 1,700 1,030 600 510 460 370	800-2,000 b/ 330 300 2,630 170 880 80 920 750 80
DECVARS	330	250

a. Minorities of more than 300 thousand in prewar period.

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b. Includes Gypsies and Jews.

c. Includes Macedonians

d. Percentage of total for Eastern Europe.

b. Includes Autochthons in Poland.

#### POLAND

Although the size of the minority population of Poland is not known with any high degree of accuracy, it is only a fraction of that recorded before the war, and Poland now has a degree of ethnic homogeneity that may well be the highest of the countries under discussion. According to current reports the minority population is between 1.5 and 5.5 percent of the total population of Poland, depending on the source of information and the criteria used in defining minorities by nationality. In absolute figures this would be between 0.5 million and 1.7 million people, most of whom live in the areas gained from Germany after World War II. In contrast, the prewar minority population numbered approximately 10 million, or about 32 percent of the total population.

The latest (1961-62) estimates from Polish sources indicate a total minority population of only about 450,000. Eleven distinct minority groups are included, but only two -- the Ukrainians and Byelorussians -- are credited with more than 100,000 members. The other nine groups probably number only between 2,000 and approximately 30,000. Although not exact, these estimates probably reflect fairly accurately the actual size of most minority groups.

Germans: The 1961-62 Polish estimate of only 3,000 given for the German minority is undoubtedly a gross understatement of its true size. German sources, on the other hand, estimate that the German minority may number as much as 1.2 million, a figure that certainly is greatly exaggerated. This vast discrepancy between Polish and German estimates reflects fundamental differences in the criteria used in the identification of Germans and Poles,

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particularly as this relates to people of mixed blood. The transfer of the German lands east of the Oder-Neisse to Poland after World War II resulted in the mass expulsion of the resident German population and its replacement mainly by Polish settlers from other areas. At the time of the Polish occupation of the Oder-Neisse territories, however, the Polish authorities reclassified some 1.5 million inhabitants as Autochthonous Poles who were thereby exempt from being transferred to Germany. This group consists mainly of bilingual people of Polish-German ancestry, although it probably also includes a number of Germans proper who at the time assumed the identity of Autochthonous Poles, or Autochthons, in order to avoid expulsion. In data from German sources, however, these people still are regarded as Germans. By far the largest number of people, more than 80 percent, that were enumerated by the Poles as Autochthons lived in Silesia, and most of the others lived around Danzig (Gdańsk) and in Glsztyn Province.

Over the past decade there has been a fairly regular flow of repatriates from Poland to East Germany and even more to West Germany. Some 300,000 or more Germans and/or Autochthons are believed to have left Poland since about 1955, and the number of Germans and persons of mixed Polish-German ancestry in Poland now is probably about 1 million. The migration of these people to Germany has been counterbalanced by the repatriation of Poles from the USSR, reportedly some 300,000 in the period 1957-59. Many of these "repatriates," however, were in fact non-Polish Jews who in turn left Poland for Israel. A new nationality agreement between Poland and the USSR was concluded on 31 March 1965, and this could lead eventually

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Approved For Release 200 107/112 GIA RDR84\_00825 R000100110002-2 to the repatriation of another 1.4 million people claiming Polish nationality.

Ukrainians: The 180,000 Ukrainians in Poland form, by Polish estimates, the largest minority now resident in the country. Before the war most of the Ukrainians lived in Rzeszów Province, but in 1947 they were forcibly resettled in other parts of Poland. Today, Ukrainians live in 11 provinces but are concentrated chiefly in those areas gained from Germany after World War II. Olsztyn Province has the largest number, some 28 percent of the total Ukrainian population, followed by Koszalin Province, which has 16 percent. In these two provinces the Ukrainians account for 5 to 7 percent of the population, although in some districts the proportion increases to about 25 percent. About 14 percent of the Ukrainian minority is still in Rzeszów Province, where it accounts for only 1 or 2 percent of the population.

Other Minorities: In contrast to the widely distributed Ukrainians, the 165,000 Byelorussians form a compact group in Bialystok Province, and a few are in Olsztyn Province. The Jews, who number only a small fraction of their prewar population, are settled in cities throughout the country. More than one-third of the Jews are concentrated in the provinces of Wroclaw and Katowice. The smaller minority groups are located chiefly along the margins of the country: Slovaks in the Nowy Targ district of Kraków Province, Lithuanians in the northeastern part of Bialystok Province, and Great Russians in Bialystok and Olsztyn Provinces. The Gypsies, most of whom still do not have fixed homes, are found mainly in the southern provinces. The Greeks and Macedonians are mainly in the Oder-Neisse lands,

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and the small <u>Czech</u> minority is settled in two small areas along the border with Czechoslovakia in the southern part of Wroczaw Province as well as in a village of <u>Kódź</u> Province.

Table 3
Population of Poland, by Nationality (Estimate, 1961-62) a/

The second secon		
	Thousand	Percent of Total
Poles	29,680	98.5
Minorities	453	1.5
Ukrainians	180	0.6
Byelorussians	165	0.5
Jews	31	0.1
Slovaks	21	negl
Great Russians	19	negl
Gypsies	12	negl
Lithuanians	10	negl
Greeks	5	negl
Macedonians	5 3	negl
Germans b/	う	negl
Czechs	2	negl
Total	30,133	100.0

a. Source: Unofficial Polish documente.

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b. Does not include Autochthons, who may number about 1 million.

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### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The nationality problem of Czechoslovakia has two distinct aspects: 1) the relative status of the official national components, Czechs and Slovaks, and 2) the changes that have affected the minority population since World War II. Czechoslovakia was established after World War I as a multinational state based on the union of three separate Slavic peoples: Czechs, Slovaks, and Ruthenians (Ukrainians). The subsequent internal history of Czechoslovakia turned in considerable degree on the frequently conflicting relations between the dominant Czech group and the numerically and economically inferior Slovaks and Ruthenians. Since World War II the conflict has involved only Czechs and Slovaks, as Ruthenia and the great majority of the Ruthenian people were transferred to the USSR immediately after the war. When Czechoslovakia was established the ethnic minority population in the new country totaled more than 5 million, or fully one-third of the entire population. The Germans and Hungarians comprised the largest of the national minority groups and, along with the much smaller Polish group, provided the basis for foreign claims on Czechoslovak territory in the late 1930's. Since World War II, this situation has changed substantially as the result of transfers of population and territory. Nearly all of the prewar minority groups have decreased in size, and most of them probably will continue to do so.

## The Czechoslovak Nationalities

Since World War II, Czechoslovakia has become more than ever the land of Czechs and Slovaks. Before the war these two groups accounted for only 67 percent of the total population, whereas today they comprise 94 percent.

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The ratio between the Czechs and Slovaks also has altered over the past several decades, with the more prolific Slovaks increasing relatively faster than the Czechs. In 1921 the Slovaks accounted for only 22.4 percent of the combined Czech-Slovak population, whereas by 1961 the proportion had increased to nearly 30 percent. The relatively younger Slovak group is expected to continue to gain at the expense of the Czech group; and according to recent projections of population growth, it could account for as much as 35 percent of the combined Czech-Slovak population by the end of the century.

Both Czech and Slovak populations are concentrated largely within the limits of their respective territories. The Czechs, in particular, have continued to live in the historic Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia; only 0.5 percent of the Czech population lived in the Slovak lands at the time of the 1961 census. The Slovaks tend to be somewhat more widely dispersed. In 1961 nearly 276,000 Slovaks, over 7 percent of the entire Slovak population, lived in the Czech lands. Most of the Slovaks in the Czech lands are in the border territories that formerly were occupied by Sudeten Germans, but many are found in central Bohemia and in those sections of Moravia that border Slovakia, particularly the Ostrava district.

Slovakia has a higher proportion of minority peoples than have the Czech lands. The 1961 census lists a minority population of 568,109 in Slovakia, or nearly 14 percent of the entire population of Slovakia. This figure, moreover, does not include the large Gypsy population. Minorities in the Czech lands, consisting chiefly of Germans and Poles, comprise only about 3 percent of the population of the Czech lands.

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#### National Minorities

Hungarians: Although not as numerous as in prewar times, the Hungarians now comprise the largest minority group in Czechoslovakia. There is some doubt, however, as to its actual size because postwar Czech reporting has been inconsistent and undoubtedly has tended to minimize the number of Hungarians. The 1961 census figure of 534,000, which is substantially higher than earlier postwar Czech figures, probably is the most accurate count from a Czech source, but even this total may be a considerable were understatement. After the war a few Hungarians/resettled in areas of former German settlement in Bohemia and Moravia, but most of the Hungarian minority is still located in Slovakia, where it comprises over 12 percent of the population of Slovakia. The main areas of Hungarian settlement are in the south along the border with Hungary, where many villages and even some entire districts are still predominantly Hungarian despite attempts to introduce Slovak settlers.

Germans: The Germans now constitute only a relatively small and unimportant element in the population of the country. As in prewar times they are located chiefly in the border areas of Bohemia and Moravia. The greatest proportions (70.7 percent) of the German population is concentrated in only two provinces immediately adjacent to the Bohemian borders with East Germany and West Germany, but Germans in all areas are far outnumbered by Czech inhabitants.

The census of 1961 recorded a total of only 140,000 Germans, indicating a sizable drop from the 165,000 given in the 1950 census. This attrition continues and the small German minority today reflects the small-scale

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though often steady emigration to West Germany, the assimilation of Germans into the dominant Czech population, and finally, the comparatively older age level of the German population and a correspondingly low rate of natural increase. At present over 25 percent of the ethnic Germans are more than 60 years old, as compared with only some 14 percent of the total population. The future of the German minority, therefore, seems to be one of continued decline that may lead eventually to its virtual elimination as a significant element in the population.

Poles: The present Polish minority is only two-thirds the size of the prewar group, and it probably will continue to decline in the coming decades. The 1961 census recorded a decrease of nearly 7 percent from the number recorded in 1950. This loss probably is due partly to the assimilation of Poles into the dominant Czech population but may have stemmed even more from the comparative old age of the Polish minority vis-a-vis the population of the country as a whole. In 1961 over 16 percent of the Poles were more than 60 years old, a percentage second only to that of the German population. The great majority (87.5 percent) of the Poles are concentrated in two highly industrialized districts coinciding with the historic Teschen Province, long held in dispute between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Ukrainians: The transfer of the province of Ruthenia to the USSR after World War II eliminated nearly 90 percent of the large prewar Ukrainian (Ruthenian) minority in Czechoslovakia. The remaining Ukrainian population, concentrated mainly in eastern Slovakia, apparently has continued to decrease during the postwar period. The 1961 census lists only 55,000 Ukrainians and Great Russians, a drop of nearly 20 percent from the 1950 total. - 11 -C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

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Gypsies: The Czechoslovak government does not recognize the Gypsies as a distinct nationality, and they are not included in postwar census material. Estimates of the size of the Gypsy minority, however, have appeared in various Czech publications. They range from 120,000 to about 200,000, but the most commonly used figure seems to be 150,000. On the basis of various postwar estimates the greatest proportion (80 percent) of the Gypsy population appears to be concentrated in Slovakia, chiefly in the central and eastern sections. Some attempt was made after the war to resettle Gypsies in the depopulated border areas of Bohemia, and it is likely that many, if not most, of the Gypsies now living in the Czech lands are in these sections. As the Gypsies generally have succeeded in resisting assimilation into the Czechoslovakian society and economy, they form a relatively troublesome, though apolitical, minority.

Jews: Although not identified in either the 1950 or the 1961 census returns, an estimated 20,000 Jews remain in Czechoslovakia. Most of this small group has been assimilated into the dominant Czechoslovak society to a high degree, and a continuation of this process together with some small-scale emigration to Israel will undoubtedly make it increasingly difficult to identify a distinct Jewish group.

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Population of Czechoslovakia, by Nationality (1961 Census)

and the date of the section of the Company of the Section of the S	Thousand	Percent of Total
Czechs	9,069	66.0
Slovaks	3,836	27.9
Minorities	80	6.1
Hungarians	53½	3.9
Germans	140	1.0
Poles	68	0.5
Ukrainians/Great Russians	55	0.4
Others	<sup>1</sup> 3	0.3
Total a/	13,746 b/	100.0

<sup>a. Because of rounding, figures do not add to totals.
b. Includes an estimated 150 thousand Gypsies and
20 thousand Jews not identified as separate categories in/1961 census.
the</sup> 

#### HUNGARY

Postwar data on the size and distribution of national minorities in Hungary are incomplete and often misleading or contradictory. Most data, moreover, are concerned chiefly with the absolute size of minority groups and are entirely inadequate for showing distribution in any great detail. Hungary generally has had a relatively smaller minority population than most other countries of Eastern Europe. In the interwar period it had the smallest proportion (7 or 8 percent) of minority population of any country included in this survey, with the possible exception of albania. Prewar figures, however, do not account fully for the large prewar Jewish group whose inclusion would increase the proportion of minority peoples to about 15 percent. The 1949 and 1960 censuses show an even greater ethnic homogeneity than in prewar times, with the Hungarian element accounting

elimination of most of the Jewish population and more than one-half of the German population, but it also stems in part from limitations in the postwar census data. The 1949 census lists only 129,000 people reporting a non-Hungarian mother tongue, a figure that increased to about 175,000 by the time the 1960 census was taken. It is generally believed that the actual minority population in both instances was very much larger. Estimates based not exclusively on mother tongue range from a low of about 450,000 to a high of nearly 750,000, or 4 to 8 percent of the total population. On the basis of all the available evidence, Hungary's minority population today probably runs to at least 600,000 and may actually be 700,000, or between 6 and 7 percent of the total population.

The proportion of non-Hungarians varies greatly from one section of the country to another, although in none of the present counties would it be likely to exceed 20 percent of the population. In the main, only the central and western parts of Hungary have significant (over 2 percent) minority populations; in eastern Hungary only Békés County has any appreciable number of non-Hungarians. An estimated 350 towns and villages, or about 10 percent of the total number of settlements, have significantly large minority groups (20 percent and more); and only 79 of these settlements actually have a non-Hungarian majority: 39 German, 18 Yugoslav, 12 Slovak, 2 Rumanian, and 8 mixed categories.

Germans: The Germans still constitute the largest national minority in Hungary. Estimates of the number of Germans range from 200,000 to about 220,000 and far exceed the number reported in either of the two postwar

- 1<sup>2</sup>; - C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-I;

censuses -- 22,000 in 1949 and 51,000 in 1960. Although their precise distribution is not known, the Germans are found now, as in prewar times, mainly in the Transdamubian region, particularly in the southern counties of Baranya and Tolna. Other smaller concentrations are along the western fringes of Budapest, in the Bakony forest area, and in some localities along the Austrian border.

Gypsies: The large Gypsy population of nearly 200,000 that has been reported for Hungary in recent years contrasts sharply with the small numbers -- 20,000 to 25,000 -- listed in prewar and postwar censuses according to mother tongue. The Gypsies are much more widely distributed than any of the other minorities. They are scattered throughout the country in some 2,100 settlements.

Other Minorities: The Slovaks, estimated to number between 60,000 and 110,000, are located chiefly in eastern Hungary, though smaller settlements are found scattered across northern Hungary as well. Although estimates of the number of Yugoslavs vary from 45,000 to 105,000, the actual number probably runs to slightly more than 100,000. The Croats account for nearly 90 percent of this Yugoslav total, the remainder consisting of nearly equal numbers of Serbs and Slovenes. Most Yugoslavs are in the southern counties, chiefly in the Transdamubian section, but the majority of the Serbs are east of the Danube in Csongrád County. A small group of Rumanians, estimated variously to number between 15,000 and 25,000 also live in eastern Hungary.

The <u>Jewish</u> community now numbers an estimated 80,000 people, less than one-quarter of its prewar size. More than 65 percent of the Jews are

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concentrated in Budapest, and groups in various provincial cities, chiefly Miskolc and Debrecen, are much smaller. The Jewish population is an aging one, and its net losses through deaths over births alone should produce a continued steady shrinkage in the size of the community. These losses, combined with those resulting from emigration and assimilation, could greatly deplete the present Jewish population within the next decade.

Population of Hungary, by Nationality (Estimate, about 1960)

a All Bernauskandeskand, sep oph Statisky benahalisti sinder som sekskepent	Low Estimate	of Minorities	High Estima	te of Minorities
	Thousand	Percent of Total	Thousand	Percent of Total
Hungarians	9,521	95.6	9,221	92.6
Minorities	440	4.4	740	7.4
Germans	200	2.0	220	2.2
Gypsies	50	0.5	200	2.0
Slovaks	60	0.6	110	1.1
Yugoslavs	45	0.5	105	1.0
Croats			90	0.9
Serbs			8	negl
Slovenes			7	negl
Jews	70	0.7	80	0.8
Rumanians	15	0.1	25	0.3
Total	9,961 a/	100.0	9,961 a/	100.0

a. 1960 census.

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#### **RUMANTA**

Although the present national minority population of Rumania -- both in relative and absolute terms -- is only about half that of the prewar period, it still is the largest of any country in Eastern Europe. The drastic reduction in the size of the minority population came about during the World War II period when wartime losses, territorial losses (Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, and Southern Dobruja), and transfers of population combined to greatly reduce the size of nearly every one of the prewar minorities. In the 1930 census 17 separate national minorities, totaling over 5 million people, were recognized; 9 of them had more than 100,000 members each. By the time of the 1956 census, however, only 15 national minorities, totaling nearly 2.5 million people, were identified, and only 1 of them had more than 100,000 members. Of the major prewar minorities, only the Eungarians were able to maintain their absolute and relative strength into the postwar period.

By far the largest part (87.5 percent in 1956) of Rumania's postwar minority population is concentrated in the Transylvanian region. Within Transylvania the various minority groups account for nearly one-third of the population, and in some sections non-Rumanians may be in the majority. In the historic provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, on the other hand, minorities comprise no more than 2 or 3 percent of the population, and over wide areas non-Rumanians may be almost entirely absent. Somewhat larger proportions, 10 to 13 percent, are found in Dobruja Region and southern Bukovina, and in certain localities the proportion may be considerably greater.

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Hungarians: The Hungarian minority in Rumania, numbering over 1.5 million, is by far the largest single minority group in Eastern Europe.

Nearly all (98 percent) of the Hungarians are settled in the Transylvanian region, where they account for one-quarter of its population, a proportion that has remained essentially the same over a period of several decades.

Geographically, the Hungarians in Transylvania are concentrated in two areas of settlement that are separated by a zone in which Hungarians are more widely dispersed among the dominant Rumanian population. In a part of eastern Transylvania that is more than 100 miles from the Hungarian border, about 675,000 Szeklers comprise more than 10 percent of the total Hungarian minority. They form the largest and most distinctive Hungarian group in Rumania as well as the largest and most homogeneous bloc of Hungarians outside Hungary. At the time of the 1956 census, most ot them were in the Autonomous Magyar Region although a sizable number lived in the adjoining Braşov Region. In 1956 Hungarians comprised over 75 percent of the population of the Autonomous Magyar Region, but since then the boundaries have been gerrymandered so as to reduce the proportion to only about 62 percent.

The second area of major concentration of Hungarian population is in the extreme western part of Transylvania along the border with Hungary. About 600,000 Hungarians, or nearly 40 percent of the Hungarian minority, live in this border zone, which generally is no more than 30 miles wide but is somewhat wider in the north where it forms a salient trending southeastward in the direction of the Szekler settlement. The relative strength of the Hungarian population in the western border area, however,

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is much less than that of the group in the more compactly settled Szekler area. In only two districts do the Hungarians constitute a majority.

Most of the remaining Hungarians in Transylvania are found in and around Cluj. The nearly 250,000 Hungarians in this area constitute a tenuous link between the Szekler group and the Hungarians of the western border area. About 37,000 Hungarians live in the mining and heavy industrial districts of Hunedoara Region.

Germans: The Germans still comprise the second largest national minority in Rumania, and like the Hungarians, they are concentrated almost entirely (96 percent) in Transylvania, where they comprise about 6 percent of the population. Also like the Hungarians, the Germans are divided into two major groups, each with a separate and distinctive historical development.

The Saxon group has been established in the historic province of Transylvania since the 12th century. As compared with nearly 250,000 Saxons in prewar times, the present group numbers about 180,000, or over 48 percent of the entire German minority in Transylvania. Some 80 percent of the Saxons live in the southern part of Transylvania, chiefly in Braşov Region. Smaller centers of Saxon settlement are found in the Sebeş district, immediately west of Braşov Region, and in northern Transylvania around the city of Bistrita.

The second major concentration of Germans is the Swabian group of the Banat area. The Swabians now number about 175,000, or about the same as the Saxons, although in prewar times they formed a group distinctly larger than the Saxon group. Most of the Swabians live in a comparatively narrow

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border strip adjoining the Yugoslav Banat (Vojvodina) and adjoining sections of southeastern Hungary. The remaining Transylvanian Germans are found in scattered localities in the western border regions of Grişana and Maramureş, where they are completely submerged in the great mass of Rumanians and Hungarians.

It is possible that the Rumanian Government eventually may permit lar/ge-scale emigration of the German community to West Germany. Such emigration could produce, according to West German estimates, a 25 percent or greater decrease in the size of the German minority. The Rumanians actually have allowed small-scale emigration throughout much of the postwar period, but this has not been enough to affect significantly the overall size of the German minority.

Jews: It is impossible to state with any certainty the actual number of Jews in Rumania today, although it is much smaller than before the war. The latest Rumanian census (1956) listed according to nationality a total Jewish population of only 146,000, but this figure is generally regarded as a serious understatement of the true size of the Jewish group at that time. Estimates from Jewish and other sources for the same period range between 200,000 and 250,000. Estimates of the present Jewish population are further complicated by the more or less steady, and frequently heavy, Jewish emigration in the years since 1958. As many as 90,000 to 100,000 Jews may have emigrated since the middle of 1958. An estimate for early 1964 gave a total of from 120,000 to 150,000 Jews remaining in Rumania, which on the basis of earlier estimates would seem to be approximately correct.

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The Jewish population in Rumania is located mainly in urban areas (95 percent) and, according to the 1956 census, is unevenly distributed. The largest single concentration -- 44,000, or nearly one-third of the Jews in the country -- was reported in the city of Bucharest. Other important areas of Jewish settlement are in northern Moldavia, particularly in Issi, and in central and western Transylvania. Elsewhere in Rumania there are almost no Jews.

Gypsies: Two-thirds of the Gypsy population, which now numbers more than 100,000 but is considerably smaller than it was in the prewar period, is concentrated in Transylvania, chiefly in the present administrative regions of Braşov, Cluj, and Mureş-Autonoma Maghiara. Nearly half the entire Gypsy population lives in these three regions. The present Banat Region also has a relatively large number of Gypsies. Elsewhere in Rumania the Gypsy population is fairly small and widely distributed.

Other Minorities: For the most part the other minority groups in Rumania are essentially small remmants of much larger prewar populations that lived mainly in the territories that were lost by Rumania to the USSR and Bulgaria at the end of the war. Most of these small minority groups are found in the polyglot Dobruja (Turks, Tatars, Great Russians, and a few Ukrainians) and Banat (Yugoslavs, Slovaks, Czechs, Bulgarians) Regions. Most of the Ukrainians, however, are found along the USSR border in northern Transylvania and southern Bukovina. The Greek minority is located chiefly in urban centers, and the largest concentrations are in Bucharest; the port cities of Braila, Galaţi, and Constanta; and Hunedoara and Oradea in the

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Transylvanian region. The <u>Poles</u> also are widely distributed, but nearly half of them are in northern Moldavia. The <u>Armenians</u>, who comprise the smallest of the identifiable minority groups in Rumania, have been permitted to emigrate to Lebanon on a more or less regular basis since about 1963. If allowed to continue, this movement could lead to the virtual elimination of the Armenian minority within a fairly short time.

Table 6

Population of Rumania, by Nationality (1956 Census)

	Thousand	Percent of Total
Rumanians	14,996	85.7
Minorities	2,493	14.5
Hungarians	1,588	9.1
Germans	385	2.2
Jews	146	0.8
Gypsies	10½	0.6
Ukrainians	60	0.3
Yugoslavs	1,7	0.2
Great Russians	39	0.2
Slovaks	23	0.1
Tatars	20	0.1
Turks	<u>1.1</u> ;	negl
Bulgarians	12	negl
Czechs	12	negl
Greeks	1.1	negl
Poles	8	negl
Armenians	6	negl
Others, including undeclared	18	0.1
Total	17,489	100.0

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#### BULGARIA

Only in Bulgaria, of the seven countries included in this survey, has the relative size of the minority population (about 13 or 14 percent of the total population) remained substantially unchanged since the prewar period. In absolute numbers the minority population actually has increased, from little more than 800,000 at the time of the 1934 census to over 1.1 million at the time of the 1956 census. A large part of this increase, however, is more apparent than real inasmuch as the 1956 census includes nearly 190,000 Macedonians, a group not even identified in the prewar census. By subtracting this figure from the 1956 minority count the disparity between prewar and postwar becomes much less pronounced.

Although the 1956 census identifies 16 separate minority groups, only 3 of them -- the Turkish, Gypsy, and Macedonian -- account for over 94 percent of the total minority population. By comparison the other national minorities are extremely small, most of them numbering less than 10,000 and nearly all of them having decreased in size since the war. The Pomak group, which is differentiated on the basis of religion rather than nationality and is not officially recognized, numbers well over 130,000 and thus constitutes a marked exception to the general pattern.

Turks: The Turks, as in the past, now form by far the largest national minority in Bulgaria. Although the actual number of Turks now exceeds that given in the 1934 census, the relative size of the group has decreased slightly as a result of the large-scale transfers of Turks to Turkey during the last half of the 1930's and again in the postwar period, chiefly between 1948 and 1951. Probably some 250,000 Turks were

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was

repatriated, but this loss to Bulgaria/offset in part by an estimated

65,000 Turks who became part of the Turkish minority when southern Dobruja

was transferred from Rumania to Bulgaria in 1940.

Although Turks may be found in nearly all parts of the country, 80 percent of the Turkish group is concentrated in two distinct areas. Of the 656,000 Turks recorded in the 1956 census, about 50 percent are settled in the northeastern part of the country, where they comprise about 20 percent of the population; and about 50 percent live in the eastern part of the Rhodope Mountains in what is now Kurdzhali Okrug. Although not as numerous as the group in the northeast, the Turks in the Kurdzhali area are much more compactly settled and comprise about 75 percent of the population.

Gypsies: The nearly 200,000 Gypsies comprise the second largest minority and, in contrast to the other large minorities, are distributed widely over nearly all parts of the country. Major regional groupings are not readily identifiable, but most Gypsies now live in distinct sections on the fringes of major towns and cities as well as in numerous rural villages. Particularly large numbers of Gypsies are found in Sofia, Pazardzhik, Plovdiv, Sliven, Stara Zagora, and Khaskovo.

Macedonians: The Macedonians are the most highly localized of the important minority groups identified in the census of 1956, at which time fully 90 percent were located in Blagoevgrad Okrug in the extreme southwestern part of the country. The Macedonians are concentrated mainly in the valley of the Struma River as well as in the adjoining Pirin Mountains and now form nearly two-thirds of the population of this area.

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From the Bulgarian point of view the Macedonians form a geographical rather than an ethnical minority in that they speak a language that is basically a dialect of Bulgarian. In prewar times the Bulgarian census did not even recognize the existence of a Macedonian minority, counting these people as Bulgarians. The present Bulgarian position of regarding the Macedonians as a geographical minority is in opposition to the position held in Yugoslavia, where the Macedonians are recognized as a separate national group speaking a distinctive South Slav language.

Pomaks: Although not officially recognized as a national minority in the censuses or in any of the Bulgarian literature, a sizable number of Bulgarians known as Pomaks form a large cohesive group. They adhere to the Moslem religion, though they retain many customs of the Orthodox majority, and speak the Bulgarian language. The unity of the Pomak group is further enhanced by its strong geographic concentration and relative isolation in the rugged country of the western and central Rhodope Mountains. Most of the estimated 130,000 to 140,000 Pomaks live in this relatively small section of the country, though small numbers may be encountered in northern Bulgaria in the vicinity of Teteven.

Other Minorities: The minorities in Bulgaria other than the Turkish, Gypsy, and Macedonian groups are small and of little significance. Most of them have fewer than 10,000 members and several groups number fewer than 1,000. Only the Armenians number more than 20,000, and it is probable that this group will eventually be reduced to only a small fraction of its original size. Since 1963 the Bulgarian Government has eased restrictions

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on the issuance of exit permits, and apparently there has been a more or less steady emigration of Armenians to Lebanon. It has been estimated that nearly all of the Armenians in Bulgaria would leave the country if permitted to do so, and a continuation of the present Bulgarian policy could well lead to the virtual elimination of the Armenian minority within the next few years.

Table 7
Population of Bulgaria, by Nationality (1956 Census)

	Thousand	Percent of Total
Bulgarians a/	6,506.5	85.5
Minorities	1,107.2	14.5
Turks	656.0	8.6
Gypsies	197.9	2.6
Macedonians	187.8	2.5
Armenians	22.0	0.3
Russians	10.6	0.1
Greeks	7.4	0.1
Jews	6.0	negl
Tatars	6.0	negl
Rumanians	3.7	negl
Karakachni	2.1	negl
Czechs	1.2	negl
Albanians	1.1	negl
Germans	0.7	negl
Hungarians	0.7	negl
Kutzo-Vlachs	0.5	negl
Serbs	0.5	negl
Others	3.0	negl
Total	7,613.7	100.0

a. Includes 150/to 1.0 thousand Pomaks.
thousand

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#### YUGOSLAVIA

Ethnically, Yugoslavia is the most complex and heterogeneous country in Eastern Europe. Much of its diversity stems from the fact that Yugoslavia is a multinational state of six republics based on the union of five distinct South Slav nationalities, a situation that is further complicated by the existence of at least 15 national minorities. The resulting complex ethnic structure, in turn, has influenced greatly both the internal and external relations of the Yugoslav state. Efforts to weld it into a more effective unit have been opposed by the competing interests of the several Yugoslav groups, whereas the existence of important minorities along international borders has embittered at one time or another relations between Yugoslavia and all its neighbors.

#### The Yugoslav Nationalities

The several Yugoslav nationalities now account for nearly 90 percent of the entire population of the country, a proportion that has grown steadily since the first census in 1921, when they comprised only about 85 percent. The five distinct nationality groups -- Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, and Montenegrins -- are distinguished on the basis of a number of criteria: language, religion, culture, historical association, and geographical location. Five of the six Yugoslav republics are based on the five Yugoslav nationalities. The sixth, Bosnia-Hercegovina, includes both Croats and Serbs as well as a large number of Moslem and undeclared Yugoslavs. Ethnically, the Moslem Yugoslavs are Serbs or Croats who have refused to identify themselves with either of their own groups, mainly on religious grounds. Historically, the Moslem Yugoslavs

- 27 -C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-T-A-! have remained apart from the Roman Catholic Croats and the Orthodox Serbs. The category undeclared includes those Yugoslavs who have refused to identify themselves with any of the recognized Yugoslav nationalities, though it is probable that most of them are Serbs or Croats and that many adhere to the Moslem religion.

The Serbs, with more than 40 percent of the total population of the country, and the Croats, with nearly 25 percent, are the two dominant Yugoslav groups. They share a long history of mutual enmity and distrust. All other Yugoslav nationalities are much smaller, none having as much as 10 percent of the total population. The relative size of the groups, moreover, has not been significantly altered over the past 4 decades, although the Serbs, Macedonians, and Montenegrins have gained slightly at the expense of the more Westernized and economically advanced Croats and Slovenes.

Geographically, each Yugoslav nationality tends to be concentrated in one of the constituent republics, though there are notable variations in this respect. Over 95 percent of the Slovenes and Macedonians are settled within their respective republics, whereas only about 75 percent of the Serbs, Croats, and Montenegrins are in theirs. The population of Bosnia-Hercegovina is composed of Serbs (43 percent), Croats (22 percent), and Moslems and undeclared Yugoslavs (about 35 percent).

## National Minorities

Although maintaining nearly the same absolute size of about 2 million over the past 40 years, the relative size of Yugoslavia's minority population has decreased noticeably during the same period, from a high of 17 percent

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in 1921 to less than 11 percent in 1961. Geographically, the national minorities are concentrated largely in border regions in the northern and southern parts of the country. According to the 1961 census, about 66 percent of the minority population was settled in the Vojvodina and Kosmet regions of Serbia, as compared with less than 60 percent at the time of the 1953 census. This increase is due largely to the striking growth in the minority population of the Kosmet, which between 1953 and 1961 increased from 28 percent of the country total to nearly 34 percent while the minority population of the Vojvodina barely maintained 31 percent. Within these regions minorities also are relatively stronger in the Kosmet, where they comprise 70 percent of the population, than in the Vojvodina, where they comprise only half that proportion.

About 17 percent of the total minority population lives in Macedonia, where it accounts for about 25 percent of the population. The remaining 17 percent is found mainly in Serbia proper and Croatia, leaving Slovenia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina with only very small proportions of minority peoples.

Albanians: The Albanians constitute the largest and potentially one of the most troublesome minorities in Yugoslavia. The 915,000 Albanians recorded in the 1961 census account for 45 percent of the entire minority population of the country, and their high rate of growth promises to increase this proportion even more in the future. The Albanian minority, doubling in size between 1921 and 1961, has grown much more rapidly than any other major minority group and, in fact, has grown more rapidly than the Yugoslav nationalities. Between 1953 and 1961, the Albanian group

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About 70 percent of the Albanian minority is concentrated in the Kosmet Autonomous Region of Serbia, where it comprises nearly 67 percent of the population of the region. Other, though less homogeneous, areas of Albanian settlement extend beyond the borders of the Kosmet into northern and western Macedonia and, to a much smaller extent, also into adjoining sections of Serbia proper (not including Kosmet and Vojvodina) and Montenegro. More than 180,000 Albanians now live in Macedonia, where they comprise 13 percent of the population, a slightly smaller proportion than in 1953.

Hungarians: The Hungarians, numbering over half a million, are the second largest minority in Yugoslavia, accounting for about 25 percent of the entire minority population. Unlike the Albanian group, however, the number of Hungarians has increased so slowly that their relative importance has declined steadily over the past 4 decades. Nearly 88 percent of the Hungarians live in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in the extreme northern part of Serbia, and most of the remaining 12 percent live in adjoining districts in eastern Croatia.

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Within the Vojvodina the Hungarians do not dominate to the same extent that the Albanians do in the Kosmet. The 442,000 Hungarians comprise only about 25 percent of the population of Vojvodina, although they comprise 70 percent of the minority population of the province. The heaviest concentration of Hungarians is in the northern part, chiefly in the Backa district between the Danube and Tisza Rivers, but they are also scattered throughout most other parts of Vojvodina.

Turks: The Turks probably number about 180,000, but the reporting on the size of the Turkish minority is one of the most unreliable features of Yugoslav censuses. Great variations in the count occur from one census to the next, frequently as a result of changing political conditions. It is likely that in 1948 many Turks reported themselves as of Albanian nationality, whereas by 1953 relations between Yugoslavia and Albania had deteriorated so seriously that two and one-half times as many people (260,000) claimed Turkish nationality. The number of people claiming Turkish as their mother tongue in 1953, however, was only 182,000. That this latter figure more accurately represents the true size of the Turkish minority in Yugoslavia is borne out in some degree by the 1961 census, which recorded 183,000 people claiming Turkish nationality.

Like the Albanian and Hungarian minorities, the Turkish minority exhibits a high degree of geographic concentration. In 1953, 84 percent of the Turks (by mother tongue) lived in Macedonia. Although the percentage has decreased to some extent, the 1961 census recorded nearly 73 percent of the Turks in this province. Most of the remaining Turkish population is found in the Kosmet and in Serbia proper, the latter region in particular showing a marked increase in the size of its Turkish minority.

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Other Minorities: The other minority groups in Yugoslavia are comparatively small and, for the most part, do not constitute serious problems in either internal or external relations. The Germans, who prior to World War II comprised the second largest minority, now are reduced to a group no more than 10 percent of its former size. The 1953 census counted about 60,000 Germans, most of whom were settled in the Vojvodina and in parts of Croatia. The results of the 1961 census so far made available fail to identify a German minority. About 85 percent of the Slovaks are concentrated in the Vojvodina, particularly in the southern half. Much smaller concertrations of Slovaks, along with most of the Czechs, are found in north central Croatia. The small Bulgarian minority is concentrated in three districts of southeastern Serbia bordering Bulgaria. Two of these districts, which were acquired from Bulgaria after World War I, are over 90 percent Bulgarian, giving them the highest proportion of minority population of any mection of the country. The Ukrainians, many of whom live in three districts of the Vojvodina and in one district of Bosnia-Hercegovina, form one of the most widely distributed of the smaller minorities. Great Russian and Polish minerities also are small and widely scattered.

The Ruvanian minority is localized in the southeastern part of Vojvodina, whereas the related Vlach population is centered in the Timok area of northwastern Serbia. The octual size of the Vlach population is not known accurately, however, and at times the Vlachs have been counted as Rumanians. A considerable part of the Vlach population probably has been assimilated into the dominant Serbian group. The 1953 census lists only 35,000 persons claiming Vlach nationality, although 210,000 gave Vlach as their mother tongue.

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The results of the 1961 census so far published do not even identify a Vlach group. The small Italian minority, settled chiefly in the southern part of the Istrian Peninsula, decreased about 30 percent between 1953 and 1961. Nearly half of the small Greek minority is concentrated in is Macedonia, and most of the rest NEW scattered widely across Serbia.

A sizable, though somewhat indeterminate, Gypsy population is widely distributed throughout much of Serbia and Macedonia but is largely absent in the other republics. The 1953 census recorded about 85,000 persons claiming Gypsy nationality, but the actual number probably is much higher as many Gypsies are believed to have declared themselves to be Serbs or Macedonians. The prewar Jewish minority of some 70,000 to 80,000 now probably numbers no more than 6,000. These people are found chiefly in urban centers such as Zagreb, Belgrade, and Sarajevo, each of which has 1,000 or more Jews.

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Table 8

Population of Yugoslavia, by Nationality (1961 Census)

	Thousand	Percent of Total
Yugoslavs	16,539	89.2
Serbs Croats Slovenes Macedonians Montenegrins Other Yugoslavs a/	7,806 4,294 1,589 1,046 514 1,290	42.1 23.1 8.6 5.6 2.0 7.0
Minorities	2,011	10.8
Albanians Hungarians Turks Slovaks Bulgarians Rumanians Czechs Italians Others b/	915 504 183 86 63 61 30 26	4.9 2.7 1.0 0.5 0.3 0.2 0.1 0.8
Total	18,549 c/	100.0

a. Includes 973 Years Yugoslav Moslems and 317 Years undeclared Yugoslavs. thousand thousand

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b. Includes mainly Germans, Ukrainians, Great Russians, Poles, Vlachs, Greeks, and Gypsies as well as a few Jews.

c. Because of rounding, figures do not add to totals.

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#### **ALBANIA**

It is almost impossible to ascertain with any high degree of certainty the size and distribution of minorities in Albania, although it is undoubtedly true that the relative importance of minorities in the total population has declined substantially since the prewar period. According to most sources the absolute size of the minority population has remained essentially the same since about 1930, running to approximately 80,000. In 1930 minorities comprised some 8 or 9 percent of the total population, whereas by 1961 they accounted for less than 5 percent.

The Greek minority is the largest and most troublesome, but estimates of its size have varied greatly. At present it probably numbers about 40,000, counting those who consider themselves of Greek nationality rather than Albanian. Much uncertainty exists concerning the size of the minority comprised of various Yugoslav nationalities. The 1955 census official (the latest/data available) counted fewer than 6,000 Yugoslavs, somewhat more than were indicated in prewar estimates. A Russian estimate for 1961, however, gives a total of 15,000 -- a number that far exceeds all earlier estimates. Although the 1955 census does not identify the Vlach and Gypsy groups, these two peoples have long been part of the population of Albania and postwar estimates give 10,000 for each group.

Data are inadequate to show in any detail the present distribution of minority populations. At best it is possible to state that the Greeks are found in the extreme southern part of the country. This area, referred to by the Greeks as northern Epirus, has long been the object

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of dispute between Albania and Creece. The various Yugoslav groups reportedly live in border areas in the northern and western parts of the country. The Gypsies and Vlachs are believed to be settled mainly in the central and southern parts.

Table 9

Population of Albania, by Nationality (Estimate, about 1961)

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Albanians	1,580	95.2
Minorities	80	4.8
Greeks	40	2.4
Yugoslavs	15	0.9
Vlachs	10	0.6
Gypsies	10	0.6
Others	5	0.3
Total	1,660	100.0

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instructions: To be mide up in triplicate: Two copies to D/GC, one of which will be returned to O/Ch/D/GG with map number. The third copy to be held in O/Ch/D/GG until the second is returned; the third copy with map number dded to be sent to the Brunch.

One D/GG Request for Graphics for each map, chart, etc.



CONFIDENTIAL

#### Approved For Release 2001/07/12: CIA-RDP84-00825R000100110002-2 CENTRAL, INTELLIGENCE AGENCY Geography Division, ORR

#### Project Initiation Memorandum

2 October 196h

Project No.: 63,2235

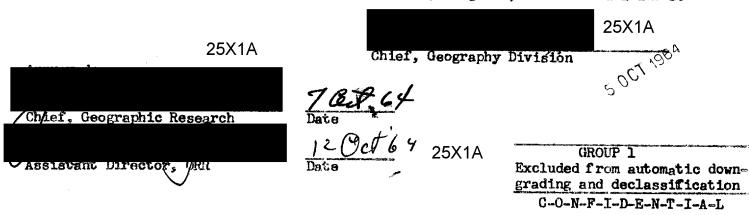
- 1. Subject of Proposed Project: Nationality and Minority Problems in Eastern Europe.
- 2. Statement of Problem: Soviet hegemony over Eastern Europe after World War II minimized the many national antagonisms that had long existed in the region. The slackening of Soviet control in recent years has been accompanied by a resurgence of nationalism that could encourage old hatreds and unreconciled differences to emerge again. These antagonisms are already operative in the internal politics of Czechoslovakia and in relations between Hungary and Rumania. The proposed Intelligence Memorandum will report and evaluate the nationality and minority situations in Eastern Europe under the following headings:
  - a. Fost-war changes in ethnic distribution.
  - b. Size and distribution of national minorities; their prospects.
  - c. Nationality and minority problems of potential importance.
- 3. Requester: Self-initiated,

25X1A

4. Responsible Analyst, Branch:

GG/E

- 5. Cooperation Desired: D/GC will be asked to prepare one basic map of minority distribution and two or three more detailed inset-type maps.
- 6. Estimated Manhours in D/GG: 200
- 7. Target Date for Issuance: Open
- 8. Intelligence Publication: Intelligence Memorandum
- 9. Recommendation for Distribution of Finished Report: Standard distribution for CIA/RR GM.
- 10. Comments: Work on this project will be deferred until the end of November because of priority of PN 63.2147C Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania E and S.



# Approved For Release 2001/07/12 : CIA-RDP84-00825R000100110002-2

#### CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY Geography Division, ORR

# Project Initiation Memorandum

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Approved For Relea 2001/07/12: CIA-RDP84-00825R000100110002-2 2. Statement of Problem Soviet hegemony over Eastern Europe after World War II minimized the many national antagonisms that had long existed in the area region. The slackening of Soviet control in recent years has been accompanied by a resurgence of nationalism that could allow old hatreds and unreconsiled differences to come to the surface again. This already operative in the internal politics of Czechoslovakia and in relations between Hungary and Rimania Lat the same time, postwar por

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B. Size and distribution of national minorities,-C. Nationality and minority problems of greatest potential

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